

Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 RSR-01 AEC-11 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02

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P R 221618 Z JUN 73

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INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 594

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USCINCEUR

USDEL SALT TWO II

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM MBFR:

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET AND POLISH REPS JUNE 22

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. DANISH AND US REPS MET WITH SOVIET AND
POLISH REPS JUNE 22 FOR DISCUSSION WITH PRIMARY OBJECTIVE DEALING
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WITH DETAILS OF PENDING PLENARY. THERE WAS ALSO BRIEF DISCUSSION OF
STATUS OF DELEGATIONS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER, THE
QUESTION OF CALLING PLENARIES, AND THE ISSUE OF WORKING GROUPS
DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. DANISH AND US REPS MET AT SOVIET EMBASSY JUNE 22 WITH SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV, MOVCHAN AND TIMERBAYEV, AND POLISH REP STRULAK. DANISH REP BEGAN BY ASKING KHLESTOV WHETHER HE HAD ANY NEW AND POSITIVE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD PERMIT COMPLETION OF THE WORK ON THE COMMUNIQUE. DANISH REP SAID ACCORDING TO VIEWS OF HIS COLLEAGUES, THE MAIN PURPOSE OF PRESENT SESSION SHOULD BE HOW TO ORGANIZE THE PENDING PLEANRY MEETING WHICH WOULD TAKE PLACE ONCE SOVIET REP HAD RECEIVED POSITIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

3. KHLESTOV REPLIED THAT HE HAD AS YET NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS, BUT THAT HE ASSUMED A PLENARY WOULD BE ORGANIZED IN WAY SIMILAR TO THAT OF MAY 14 PLENARY SESSION. DANISH REP ASKED KHLESTOV IF THE EAST HAD GIVEN ANY ATTENTION TO THE DETAILS OF SUCH A SESSION. KHLESTOV SAID IF IT WAS DESIRED IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE TWO OR MORE REPS MAKE BRIEF STATEMENTS ON THIS OCCASION BUT HE HAD NOT DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE IN HIS GROUP. DANISH REP SAID ALLIES AT THE MOMENT HAD NO THOUGHTS TO ADVANCE ON THIS SUBJECT BUT MERELY WANTED TO KNOW SOVIET VIEWS. HE PRESUMED THAT IN ANY EVENT THE CHAIRMAN WOULD BRING THE COMPLETED COMMUNIQUE TEXT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PLENARY AND ASK FOR ITS APPROVAL. KHLESTOV SAID THIS WOULD BE THE PROCEDURE. THE CHAIRMAN MIGHT ALSO SAY SOME FRIENDLY WORDS ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE OUTCOME WAS CONSTRUCTIVE AND THE WORK OF THE CONSULTATIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN A GOOD ATMOSPHERE. OTHER REPS MIGHT SPEAK IF THEY WISHED. HE HAD NO FIXED IDEAS ON THIS SUBJECT. HE BELIEVED THE CHAIRMAN SHOULD, AS USUAL IN SUCH CONFERENCES, THANK BOTH THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES AND THE INTERPRETERS AND OTHERS ACTUALLY CONCERNED WITH PUTTING ON THE PLENARY.

4. STRULAK RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE STATUS OF THE 19 NEGOTIATING DELEGATIONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS PROPER. THIS MATTER HAD BEEN RASIED BY THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES AND SHOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH THEM FURTHER. IN GENERAL, HE BELIEVED THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE UN CONVENTION ON SPECIAL MISSIONS SHOULD APPLY. IN ACTUAL
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PRACTICE, THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT HAD IN THE PAST FOLLOWED THE POLICY OF ACCORDING THE SAME PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES CURRENT FOR THE DOPLOMATIC COMMUNITY ACCREDITED TO VIENNA TO PERSONNEL VISITING CONFERENCES AND MISSION. HE BELIEVED THIS PRACTICE SHOULD APPLY FOR THE TROOP NEGOTIATIONS. HE BELIEVED AN INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED WITH THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES THAT THE PRIVISIONS OF THE SPECIAL MISSIONS CONVENTION APPLIED AND THAT THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD IN ANY OTHER RESPECTS NOT COVERED BY THE CONVENTION TREAT THE DELEGATES AS THEY WOULD FOREIGN DIPLOMATS ACCREDITED TO VIENNA. HE SAW NO NEED TO FORMALIE AN AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT WITH THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES OR PUT IT IN WRITING.

4. SOVIET REP MOVCHAN POINTED OUT THAT THE UN CONVENTION ON SPECIAL MISSIONS COVERED MOST PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES NOW USED IN INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE, HOWEVER, AS HE UNDERSTOOD IT, THE CONVENTION WAS NOT YET IN EFFECT. THEREFORE, HE BELIEVED A PRAGMATIC OUTCOME SHOULD BE SOUGHT IN WHICH THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD AGREE GENERALLY TO FOLLOW THE CONVENTION IN PRACTICE AND ALSO TO ACCORD THE NEGOTIATING TEAMS THE SAME PRIVILEGES AS THEY WOULD NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL; AN EFFORT TO REACH A WRITTEN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE AUSTRIANS ON THIS MATTER SHOULD BE AVOIDED BECAUSE THIS WOULD RESULT IN BRINGING INTO THE ACT THE LEGAL DEPARTMENTS OF 19 SEPARATE COUNTRIES, VASTLY COMPLICATING THE PROCESS AND MAKING THE OUTCOME UNCERTAIN.

5. DANISH REP SAID HE WOULD REPORT THESE VIEWS TO THE ALLIES.

6. KHLESTOV THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF INTERPRETERS AND TRANSLATORS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SEEMED TO BE INTERESTED IN HAVING THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT PAY FOR THEM REGARDLESS WHETHER THEY WERE PROVIDED BY THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT OR WERE OFFICIALS DRAWN FROM THE 19 PARTICIPATING DELEGATIONS. US REP POINTED OUT THAT IF RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROVIDING INTERPRETERS WERE TO BE ASSIGNED TO THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT, NEITHER THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE NOR THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD HAVE ANY PRACTICAL MEANS OF ASSURING THAT THESE INTERPRETERS, WHO WERE OFTEN THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS, WOULD MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE PROCEEDINGS, AS HAS BEEN AGREED SHOULD BE DONE. US REP NOTED THAT BAUER, THEN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION

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TIONAL SECTION OF THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN OFFICE, HAD INFORMALLY APPROACHED HIM PRIOR TO BAUER'S DEPARTURE FOR ANOTHER ASSIGNMENT, AND SAID AUSTRIANS WOULD PREFER IT IF THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD PROVIDE THEIR OWN INTERPRETERS, GIVING AS HIS REASONS THE SAME CONSIDERATION AS US REP HAD JUST MENTIONED. US REP BELIEVED PRACTICAL SOLUTION MIGHT BE FOR CERTAIN DELEGATIONS ON BOTH SIDES TO COOPERATE TO FORM AN INTERPRETERS POOL FOR USE AT PLENARIES FROM AMONG THEIR OWN ASSIGNED INTERPRETERS. KHLESTOV AND TIMERBAYEV SAID THAT THIS POSSIBILITY WAS A REASONABLE OUTCOME BUT THAT THEY WOULD STILL HOPE THAT THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO PAY FOR THESE PERSONNEL. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, THERE APPEARED TO BE A GENERAL CONCLUSION THAT THIS COURSE WOULD PROBABLY BE IMPRACTICAL AND AN IMPOSITION ON THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES AND THAT THE INTERPRETERS WOULD HAVE TO BE PAID FOR BY THEIR NATIONAL DELEGATIONS.

7. STRULAK RAISED THE NEED TO APPROACH THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES FOR PREMISES FOR MEETINGS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID HE ASSUMED THAT ON THE BASIS OF THE DIFFICULT EXPERIENCES AND FREQUENT MOVES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE PRESENT CONSULTATIONS THAT THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WOULD WANT THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES TO PLACE A BUILDING PERMANENTLY AT THEIR DISPOSAL. DANISH

AND US REPS SAID THEY THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE MOST PRACTICAL
SOLUTION BUT WOULD REFER IT TO THEIR COLLEAGUES.

8. KHESTOV THEN REFERRED TO REMARKS OF US REP IN JUNE 20 SESSION
CONCERNING THE NEED FOR AN UNDERSTANDING TO CONVENE PLENARIES WHEN
EITHER SIDE DESIRED IT. HE SAID THAT WHEN HE HAD DISCUSSED
THIS ISSUE WITH THE OTHER SOCIALIST DELEGATIONS, MOST HAD CONSIDERED
IT AN ARTIFICIAL PROBLEM WHICH DID NOT REALLY EXIST. IT WAS ALWAYS
POSSIBLE WHEN A GROUP OF DELEGATES THOUGHT A PLENARY NECESSARY
DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS TO RAISE THIS QUESTION AT THE TIME. IT COULD
THEN

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 RSR-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19

OMB-01 CIAE-00 EUR-25 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00 SAI-01

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P R 221618 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9306

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC PRIORITY

MBFR CAPITALS 595

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USCINCEUR

USDEL SALT TWO II

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

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BE EASILY SOLVED. WHEN THE NEGOTIATIONS ACTUALLY STARTED AND THE
PROBLEM AROSE, THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY IN SETTLING IT. SINCE
THIS WAS THE CASE, THERE WAS NO NECESSITY IN ADOPTING A GENERAL
RULE AT THIS TIME. TIMERBAYEV OBSERVED THAT IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT
THE QUESTION OF CALLING PLENARIES WAS SUBSUMED UNDER THE HEADING IN
THE COMMUNIQUE TEXT REFERRING TO THE RIGHT OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

TO INTRODUCE SUBJECTS FOR NEGOTIATION. IF THESE PARTICIPANTS HAD THE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE SUBJECTS FOR NEGOTIATION, THIS WOULD OBVIOUSLY ENTAIL THE RIGHT TO SUMMON A MEETING TO DISCUSS THEM, WHETHER A PLENARY OR OTHERWISE. ALLIED REPS COMMENTED THAT IN
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PRACTICAL TERMS, THIS INTERPRETATION WOULD MEAN THAT ANY DIRECT PARTICIPANT COULD SUMMON A PLENARY. THEY ASKED WHETHER KHLESTOV AND STRULAK SUBSCRIBED TO THIS OPINION AS THE OFFICIAL VIEW OF THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS. IF SO, THEY WOULD LIKE TO REPORT IT TO THEIR COLLEAGUES. KHLESTOV TEMPORIZED. ALLIED REPS ASKED FOR A DIRECT ANSWER TO THEIR QUESTION. THERE FOLLOWED A DISCUSSION AMONG THE EASTERN DELEGATES AT THE END OF WHICH STRULAK ANNOUNCED THAT THE EASTERN DELEGATES WOULD UPHOLD THE TIMERBAYEV INTERPRETATION BUT THAT THEY WISHED TO CONFIRM THIS VIEW WITH THEIR OWN COLLEAGUES. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WOULD REPORT THESE EASTERN VIEWS TO THEIR COLLEAGUES.

9. KHLESTOV THEN TURNED TO THE ISSUE OF WORKING GROUPS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, REFERRING TO THE US REP'S PERSONAL COMMENTS ON THE PREVIOUS OCCASION THAT IT SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THAT SUCH GROUPS WOULD BE OPEN ENDED. KHLESTOV SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS ISSUE WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND BUT COULD NOT YET GIVE A FINAL ANSWER. STRULAK SAID IN THE PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER AMONG WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, THE GENERAL TREND OF THINKING WAS THAT IT WAS PREMATURE TO TAKE A SPECIFIC STAND ON THIS ISSUE, WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN UP IN THE CONFERENCE ITSELF AND DECIDED THERE. MOVCHAN SAID HE PERSONALLY CONSIDERED THE IDEA AN IMPRACTICAL ONE ON PURELY TECHNICAL GROUNDS OF NEGOTIATING EFFICIENCY. OPEN ENDED WORKING GROUPS MERELY MEANT A PLENARY UNDER A DIFFERENT NAME. HIS OWN EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN THE UN SECRETARIAT LED HIM TO CONCLUDE THAT SUCH DEVICES HAD THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF POSTPONING PRACTICAL AND FRUITFUL DISCUSSION. THEY WERE ONLY A VEHICLE FOR FILIBUSTERING.

10. DANISH REP SAID HELSINKI MPT EXPERIENCE HAD BEEN THE OPPOSITE. MOVCHAN SAID THAT THE PRESENT TALKS HAD USED PLENARIES AND ALSO USED GROUPS OF TWO AND FOUR ON THE SIDE WHICH HAD BEEN USEFUL AND EFFECTIVE. OPEN ENDED GROUPS WERE POOR. THEY ENGENDERED ENDLESS DISCUSSION. DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, SEVERAL DIFFERENT WORKING GROUPS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED AND THERE WOULD BE A POSSIBILITY FOR EVERYONE TO PARTICIPATE IN THEM. STRULAK SAID HE TOO QUESTIONED THE OPEN ENDED CONCEPT ON THE GROUNDS OF ITS QUESTIONABLE EFFECTIVENESS. KHLESTOV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE BACKGROUND OF ALLIED THINKING WHICH WAS HOW TO ORGANIZE THE WORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SO THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS HAD A SATISFACTORY ROLE. THIS PROBLEM DEFINITELY EXISTED AND SERIOUS THOUGHT WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN TO
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HOW IT COULD BE MET DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT

IT DIFFICULT TO DECIDE THE ISSUE SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF THE US REP' S DISCUSSION THAT ALL WORKING GROUPS WITHOUT EXCEPTION SHOULD BE OPEN ENDED AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. INSTEAD, THE NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE ABLE TO EMPLOY THE WHOLE RANGE OF FORA AT THEIR DISPOSAL, PLENAIRES, OPEN ENDED WORKING GROUPS AND ALSO SMALLER DRAFTING GROUPS.

11. US REP POINTED OUT THAT HIS INFORMAL PERSONAL REMARKS HAD BEEN DIRECTED AT EARLIER SOVIET REMARKS IMPLYING A DIVISION BETWEEN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRAL WORKING GROUP COMPOSED ONLY OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. ON THE BASIS OF HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, HE DID NOT THINK THIS WOULD BE A PRACTICAL POSSIBILITY AND MERELY WISHED TO INFORM THE SOVIETS OF HIS OWN VIEW THAT THE WEST WOULD PROBABLY NOT WISH TO DIVIDE DIRECT FROM SPECIAL IN THIS WAY, BUT WOULD PROBABLY PREFER IN SUCH CASES TO USE THE OPEN- ENDED PRINCIPLE WHICH HE DID NOT BELIEVE WOULD BE ABUSED IN PRACTICE OR INTERFERE WITH WORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. DANISH REP SUPPORTED THESE VIEWS, STATING BELIEF THAT ONLY REALLY INTERESTED COUNTRIES WOULD WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN SPECIFIC GROUPS AND THAT SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT FLOCK TO GROUPS IN WHOSE WORK THEY DID NOT HAVE DIRECT INTEREST. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE MUCH EASIER TO LEAVE THIS DETERMINATION UP TO THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY.

12. KHLESTOV SAID HE COULD REPLY TO THIS THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT OPPOSE OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS ON PRINCIPLE AND DID NOT AT ALL EXCLUDE THAT SOME SUCH GROUPS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH GROUPS COULD WELL BE USED. BUT OTHER FORMATS AND FORA SHOULD ALSO BE AVAILABLE AND NO GENERAL RULE SHOULD BE ADOPTED WHICH WOULD AUTOMATICALLY EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING SMALL DRAFTING GROUPS OF THE KIND USED IN THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. IT WOULD BE QUITE IMPRACTICAL TO BE HAMSTRUNG BY SOME GENERAL RULE THAT ALL WORKING GROUPS HAD TO BE OPEN ENDED, IF IT HAD BEEN DECIDED BY THE PARTICIPANTS THAT IT WOULD BE MORE PRACTICAL TO HAVE A SMALL DRAFTING GROUP SUCH AS THE PRESENT ONE. HE REPEATED THAT OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS WERE BY NO MEANS EXCLUDED.

13. STRULAK SAID THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WISHED TO DESIGNATE ONE OF THEIR COUNTRIES AS AN EMISSARY TO THE AUSTRIANS AND TO THE ALLIES FOR THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ASKED FOR AL-
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LIED REACTIONS. THE ALLIED REPS SAID THEY CONSIDERED THIS IDEA REASONABLE AND WOULD RETURN TO IT AT A LATER TIME KHLESTOV ALSO ASKED FOR DETAILS OF ALLIED NEGOTIATING DELEGATIONS. ALLIED REPS SAID THEY WERE NOT YET IN A POSITION TO GIVE DETAILS.

14. IN A TELEPHONE CALL TO THE US REP FOLLOWING THIS DISCUSSION, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV SAID THAT AFTER CONSULTATION AMONG HIS COLLEAGUES, HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT IT WOULD BE FAR BETTER NOT TO HAVE SPEECHES DURING THE FINAL PLENARY. IT WOULD BE PERFECTLY ALL RIGHT IF THE CHAIRMAN WERE TO MAKE A FEW POSITIVE REMARKS ABOUT

THE COURSE OF THE TALKS BUT IF THERE WERE MORE SPEAKERS, THIS COULD RESULT IN CONFUSION. KHLESTOV REQUESTED US REP TO BRING THIS VIEW TO THE ATTENTION OF THE ALLIES. KHLESTOV DID NOT SAY SO, BUT HE WAS APPARENTLY MOTIVATED BY CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF ROMANIAN REMARKS AT A PLENARY SESSION. KHLESTOV ALSO TOLD US REP HE THOUGHT THERE WAS A PRACTICAL NECESSITY FOR A BRIEF PRESS COMMUNIQUE STATING THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF 19 HAD MET IN PLENARY SESSION AND HAD ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING COMMUNIQUE: TEXT ATTACHED, ETC. OTHERWISE, THERE WOULD BE NO LOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANNOUNCING THE AGREED COMMUNIQUE TEXT TO THE PUBLIC. US REP SAID HE WOULD TRANSMIT THESE VIEWS TO HIS COLLEAGUES. HUMES

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